



E S S A Y

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P A T R I O T I S M, &c.

OF all the various deceptions which the craft and policy of the few have imposed on the ignorance and credulity of the many, none have ever proved so successful as the imposture of Patriotism. Not even the religious deception itself; for though, excepting christianity alone, as set forth in the holy scriptures, we may safely and consistently affirm, that all the different religions and revelations which have prevailed at all times in every nation in the world; have been the offspring of craft, and the children of credulity; yet I say this deception has not proved so strong, so forcible, and so easy as the deception of Patriotism. For the religious impostor, at least, before he became paramount, and had firmly estab-

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blished his deceit, has always been aided, assisted, and abetted by the government or the supreme magistrate; nay, he has frequently been the supreme magistrate himself, for the truth of which I appeal to the annals of modern and antient Rome. Whereas the patriotic deceiver has invariably had all the force and power of the government of his country opposed against him. The religious juggler is obliged to preserve great measure and caution; he must walk very circumspectly, he must be what is called a great *self-denyer*, and must absolutely renounce all enjoyments how innocent soever, emphatically stiled the *the lusts of the eye, the world, and the flesh*: besides, he is frequently under the necessity to pretend, nay, he sometimes actually believes, that he is possessed of extraordinary faculties and privileges; that he is inspired and illuminated from above, that he prophecies and sees visions, and finally, that he works wonders or miracles. But the Patriot has neither occasion to be so wary, nor to take so much trouble to deceive; on the contrary, he may be the veriest profligate on earth, confessedly addicted to every vice, utterly aban-

abandoned to every principle of honesty and morality ; he may run in debt to every one who will trust him, without so much as intending to pay any one ; he may forfeit the most sacred trusts, convert to his own use, and squander away in riot and debauchery monies deposited in his hands and consigned to public and charitable purposes ; he may even feloniously burn and destroy before the face of his creditor the legal evidences of a just debt ; he may be all this and much worse ; he may do all this and much more ; yet he has only to set up for what is called a Patriot, to write, and to scribble, and to bawl out for Liberty and Independance, and all his profligacy and flagitiousness will be looked over and forgotten, nay, even reckoned a virtue ; while his everlasting friends, the *mobility* of every age and condition will be ready to worship and adore him, to bear him up and support him against all correction of the laws, how decent and expedient soever. It is not charity as heretofore, but Patriotism which now-a-days covers a *multitude of sins*.

The religious adventurer is frequently deluded himself, and the dupe of his own enthusiasm; but his delusions never extend their influence further than over the mere vulgar, whether in rank or understanding; for the wise and learned have at all times joined in laughing at the popular religion, excepting only among christians, where a contrary practice has for good reasons prevailed, christianity being founded on truth and derived from a divine origin. But the Patriot is seldom if ever a self-deceiver, he is always conscious of his secret drift, whether it be the disgrace or expulsion of his rival, or to share with him in honours, places and power; and yet he frequently carries away with his lying pretences almost the whole nation, certainly many better and wiser men than himself; in short, he sometimes deceives every body excepting himself and his adversaries, who, like the beavers, know very well what they are hunted for, and in imitation, as is said, of those animals, generally throw at their pursuer the object of his pursuit, which always puts an end to the sport at once.

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The patriotic delusion possesses another great advantage over the religious. When a piece of religious imposture has been thoroughly detected in an enlightened age and nation, it is a long time before any thing of the same sort acquires credit sufficient to make an impression even on the vulgar. The two most apposite instances I recollect of this nature at present, are the French prophets among ourselves, and the miracles of the Abbé Paris among the French. Since the detection of the one by the failure of Dr. Eames's resurrection, and of the other, by the shutting up of the Abbé's tomb, no resurrection has been foretold, nor miracles of any note wrought in either country. But it is quite otherwise with the professors of Patriotism. As soon as one of those impostors happens to be discovered and exposed, and the people undeceived with respect to him, another starts up in his room, another after him, and so on, in all whom the wretched and deluded people successively believe, and that with a vehemence exactly in proportion to the greatness of their former disappointments. In short, our countrymen very
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nearly resemble those Alchymists, who having spent their lives in search of the philosopher's stone, and reduced themselves to beggary by repeated disappointments, yet die in the belief of its existence at last.

I remember, when the late famous Earl of Bath threw off the mask, and shewed himself in his true and genuine colours, his apostacy was greatly lamented by many persons of sense and virtue, on the following account. They said, that from the flagrant treachery of this man, the very pretence to the love of our country would become stale, and be no more confided in by the people, so that when a real and concerted invasion should be attempted on our rights and liberties, those who might be inclined to stand in the gap and defend them, would henceforth meet neither with credit, support, nor assistance. In short, they compared the nation to the flock of the foolish boy in the fable, who having often alarmed the neighbouring shepherds with false reports of the wolf's having come amongst them, met at last with no credit when the wolf really came, who was suffered to devour

your them in silence, and without opposition. I know not but I was of the same opinion myself, and indeed the reasoning on which it is founded appears to be very plausible. But manifold experience has now convinced us how imaginary those apprehensions were, and that there never will be a dearth either of Patriots or Patriotism among us. For, no sooner was Pulteney defunct as a Patriot, nay, he was hardly cold in his patriotic grave, when another impostor started up more bold, more daring, more successful, and who led the people a dance far more eccentric than the former, though it must be confessed in all respects else a great and memorable person, and whose eminent services to his country ought never to be forgotten. By this man it is well known, I can mean no other than the celebrated Orator, or as distinguished by an apter appellation, the late great Commoner. At last, when by his innumerable tricks, tergiversations and contradictions, his patriotism had become somewhat stale and greatly out at elbows, even in the eyes of the nobility itself; another Patriot sprung forth, as it were like the

Phoenix

Phoenix out of his ashes; but an impostor infinitely more barefaced and abandoned than either of the former. In short, a Patriot of such a character, that if we affix any determinate meaning at all to the word, that man who can seriously believe him to have any spice of Patriotism in his composition; must have a faith to remove mountains, a stomach like the Ostrich to digest iron. The truth is, from our present choice, it would appear that the existence of what is called a Patriot, is as necessary to the good people of England, as their queen to a hive of bees. The throne of patriotism was it seems then vacant, and there was no other willing to step into it but the present possessor; but how long our present most gracious patriotic Sovereign may continue to reign over us is hard to say, as well as who will be the next impostor to succeed him, when he comes to be forgotten and exploded, which, with a little management, I shall shew hereafter, might soon be the case.

There is another very material difference in the character of the impostors in religion and patriotism.

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The first almost constantly preserves the same mask he originally put on when he began his ministry; or if he makes any change, it is by slow and imperceptible degrees, according to the several steps and gradations of preferment in his church. In my little reading, I remember only three instances of religious impostors having thrown off all at once, and without scruple, the several disguises they had hitherto worn. The first is Mahomet the prophet of the Turks. This excellent juggler, was only a simple preacher for the first ten years of his mission, during which time he replied to all the taunts and fleers of his adversaries with the utmost humility, patience and resignation; but he no sooner got an armed force at his beck, than he altered his tone and taught his disciples, instead of disputing, to fight for the *faith that was in them*, till, as Hudibras says,

He prov'd his doctrine orthodox.

By apostolic blows and knocks.

The next instance is Montalto, afterwards Sixtus V. Having counterfeited
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extreme weakness, old age, ignorance, and simplicity for above twenty years, he was at last recommended by those admirable accomplishments to the papal crown. His election was scarce over when he threw aside the crutch that had so long supported him, grew a foot taller, and shewed his astonished electors he was from that moment their master. The third instance is a cardinal, originally bred a fisherman, who, during the progress of his gradual preferment in the church, had his net constantly spread over his table, an emblem of his humility, and to remind him of his former station. Having at last reached the height of his ambition, the Red Hat, he laid aside the net, saying, he had no further occasion for it, having caught the fish. But rare as this behaviour may be in false churchmen, it is the constant and invariable conduct of false Patriots, and was particularly remarkable in Pulteney's gang. No sooner had they caught the fishes they had been so long angling for, than, like the honest Cardinal, they threw by their nets, that is their mask of Patriotism, and after haranguing for above twenty sessions

sessions, with all the eloquence they could muster up, against standing armies, septennial parliaments, votes of credit, placemen and pensioners in parliament, &c. &c. became equally strenuous advocates for them, without the smallest shame or compunction, making use of those very arguments they had so often attempted to ridicule and expose. Nor have there been wanting instances of a conduct equally shameful and flagrant since that time. We all remember how the second great juggler, now I believe fairly defunct in his Patriotic capacity, declaimed against the German war; how transported to a degree of enthusiasm he declared he would not consent to the sending half a man to that country; yet soon after, without any change in circumstances, he himself sent so many men thither, that at last he conquered America in Germany. And continuing still very dextrous at conquering one country in another, he is much belied if he has not lately taken some very effectual steps to conquer Great Britain itself in America.

Thus far have I carried on the parallel between the different impos-

tors, who practise under the mask of religion and patriotism. But I should be sorry it should be inferred from any thing here said, that I deny or am even sceptical about the real existence or operations of either. On the contrary, I profess a firm belief in a God and a future state, as set forth to us in the Holy Scriptures. But then the religion revealed and recommended to us in those scriptures, is very simple, silent, and even if I may so express myself, reserved. In its pure and unmixt state, it never makes the smallest noise or bustle in the world; whenever it begins to do so from that moment, its corruption commences; but when it goes the length to raise civil wars and disturbances among men, it is then past a doubt, that it must be thoroughly tainted, and that all its professors are either designing impostors or misled fanatics.

True Patriotism in the times of public peace and tranquillity, is of a character precisely the same with true religion. At such times the only Patriotism that deserves the name, consists in a sober and steady obedience to the laws, and observance of the

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constitution; in mild and moderate endeavours to rectify whatever disorders and corruptions may have crept into either through human frailty, and the necessity of things; in a firm support without respect to names and parties, or private connections of whatever administration may happen to be then established in points wherein they are right; in as firm though a calm opposition to them, in matters wherein they may be wrong; but above all, it consists in providing for the contingencies of war during the times of peace, in increasing the revenue without burthening trade, in discharging the public debts, and in promoting arts, science, agriculture, manufactures and population throughout the kingdom.

Indeed, it is only in times of public and national distress, from whatever causes it may happen, that real Patriotism becomes bustling and active, and makes a noise in the world. At the commencement of the late war with a most powerful and inveterate enemy, when baffled in every quarter of the globe, we saw nothing before our eyes, but a repetition of defeats, a continuation of disgrace, from the weakness, pusillanimity

mity and ignorance of an administration, who, conscious of their unworthiness, had, to save themselves, thrown out a scape-goat to the incensed people, and embrued their hands in the blood of an unfortunate and in comparison of them innocent man; it was then at a most critical period, that the late great Commoner stepped forth, and took the reins of government into his hands. Diffusing his own daring, magnanimous and enterprising spirit thro' every movement of that immense machine the British empire, he wrought a sudden and almost miraculous change in the face of affairs. Henceforth, we were successful in every expedition, and victorious in every engagement, whether by land or sea. He proceeded for years in this glorious and unequalled career, adding victory to victory, and conquest to conquest. At last, he stopt and retired of a sudden, and even unexpectedly. Consistent with his daring enterprize and unbounded views he had proposed a measure, which the event of things has since shewn would have been, even at that time, right and expedient, and which, in common justice to him, we must suppose he knew to be

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be so. He was, however, over-ruled, upon which he threw up with haughtiness and disdain, declaring *he would not be responsible for measures he was no longer allowed to guide.*

This step can in truth be neither wholly condemned nor approved. In his assumed character of Patriotism, he is wholly to be blamed for it; as a mere statesman and politician greatly applauded. Had his only passion been the love and service of his country, he would have overlooked the timidity and irresolution of his colleagues in the council, and their deficiency in those great qualities, which I believe no English minister ever possessed in so eminent a degree as himself; he would have continued in office, and then in all probability the war against Spain, the difference they split upon, would have been declared in a few weeks, a delay of small importance, seeing that it was actually entered into three months afterwards, by the ministry of their own accord, without the impulse of his daring spirit to animate and drive them on. In which case he would undoubtedly have had the entire management of both wars, and would have been

been entrusted besides with the sole negotiation for the ensuing peace.

But this was the very point he wanted to avoid, and together with some little mixture of pride and ambition, was most probably the real cause of that famous resignation. And here I speak of him as a politician. He knew the temper and disposition of the people he had governed, so turbulent and unruly, that none but a minister like himself can please them, and only in time of war. He knew that he could make no peace which would prove entirely satisfactory, unless he had retained all our conquests which he might foresee would be impracticable. Had he continued in the management of affairs, let us, after consulting his negotiations with Mr. Buff, form a judgment of what he would have done, by what he had done. Therefore, like a true politician, he took the first opportunity to slip his neck out of the collar, and leave that important business in the hands of people less able, though perhaps as honest as himself. Is this the conduct of a real Patriot?

It has been asserted by the advocates of this great man, and particularly by his successor in Patriotism, that the nation

tion is indebted to him for all our glorious successes and conquests after his resignation. But why did he not likewise place to his account the inadequate, or as he was pleased to term it, infamous and inglorious peace which ensued? The answer is, it would not have suited the factious purposes of his imposture. It happens, however, that there is only a strong presumption or probability for the one, while there is convincing, nay, ocular demonstration for the other. It must indeed be owned, that this magnanimous statesman had amassed together so great a strength by sea and land, and had infused such a spirit and confidence both in our fleets and armies, that the greatest difficulty would have been to restrain them, and a succeeding ministry had nothing more to do, but bid them go on and conquer. In the affairs of men, as well as of nature, the impulse continues to produce effects after the impelling force has ceased to act: the tide continues to rise and flow long after the moon has passed her meridian.

But if the succeeding ministry followed his plan in the prosecution of the war, they also trod in the path he

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had chalked out for them in the settlement of the peace ; and if he is entitled to the merit of the one, whatever demerit there may be in the other, must surely be imputed to him likewise. If they allowed the French a share in the Newfoundland fishery, Mr. P--t had shewn them the example ; if they suffered the French to keep one of the neutral islands, Mr. P--t had agreed to give them two ; if they restored the greatest part of the West Indian islands, he had consented to yield up the whole, and that without any equivalent, whereas they stipulated something, at least, in lieu of the Havanna, I mean the two Floridas. The great use to the Spaniards of the Havanna, is to be a rendezvous for their plate fleets on their return to Europe ; but the possessors of Pensacola, if masters at sea, can at any time prevent those fleets from getting thither ; so that even this acquisition, however lightly thought of hitherto, will be of the utmost consequence to us during a future Spanish war, by rendering the Havanna itself of no consequence to our enemies ; and this I am entitled to say from my personal knowledge of those seas, and
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the winds and currents that prevail in them. But I am not writing in defence of the late peace; it is not my subject, and perhaps at bottom I entertain no very high opinion of it; only I make bold to affirm, that it is not the spirit of real Patriotism, which can never be inconsistent with truth and justice, but the most abandoned and barefaced faction, which induces a man violently to condemn the same thing in one person, which he extravagantly applauds in another; I mean the articles of peace agreed to by Mr. P--t, and finally concluded on by Lord B---te.

Though from many instances of duplicity of conduct in the late great commoner before his resignation, it might easily be seen that his boasted Patriotism was not altogether of the pure and untainted kind; it is by his behaviour since, that the charge of imposture has been finally and perhaps irrevocably fixed upon him by his former allies and admirers, and particularly by his successor, the present reigning impostor, in his letter to the Duke of Grafton. I choose to say no more on this subject; he is a great man

to whose spirit, resolution, and enterprize, his country has been infinitely obliged; and impostor as he may be, when her necessities require it, may she never want such another to take charge of her affairs.

After all, it is a question whether such a thing as pure unmixed Patriotism exists in any human breast, unless it may be in that of a philosophical speculative man retired in his own closet. Even then, it is like the sceptical system of Barclay, which denies the existence of matter, and maintains there is nothing in nature but spirit and idea. I defy any man to disprove this paradox by any reasoning whatsoever; the more he reasons the more he will be perplexed. But let him come abroad into the world, and the hurry of action, business, and affairs, will soon banish all thoughts of it, without leaving any traces behind. In the same manner, when the speculative Patriot engages among mankind, what he sees in others and feels within himself, will soon convince him of the chimerical nature of his refined notions. How then can we imagine that such a virtue can be the great and ruling principle in the breast

breast of a man who has been all his lifetime hackneyed in senates and courts, far less of another, by his own account, *an idle man of pleasure**, who has probably spent his time in much worse company, in taverns and brothels, among rakes and drunkards, bawds and prostitutes?

But at any rate, God forbid I should ever compare the great man I have been just speaking of, either with his immediate predecessor, or still more contemptible successor, in that hackneyed, though never to be worn out, imposture of Patriotism. His motives were a noble pride and ambition, and his actions were suitable to them. Their motives were little personal piques and resentments, and a low pitiful disappointed ambition. And their conduct, especially that of the latter, has been what might be expected from such principles.

About the year 1730 or 31, animosities had risen to such a height between the two parties, the courtiers

* See a letter to Lord T——e, giving an account of a most tremendous duel fought by moon-light with pistols, and at a very convenient distance,

in actual possession of places, and the Patriots who wanted to turn them out and make room for themselves; that duels, though not by moonlight, were fought among their chiefs, and the late king himself took so far a part in the dispute as to cause Mr. Pulteney's name to be struck out of the council book and all the commissions of peace, wherein it had been inserted. During the course of this altercation each party published all the scandalous anecdotes and pieces of secret history which they thought would expose or blacken the characters of their adversaries. I remember to have heard them, and also to have been highly diverted with them, at the time, and that both sides were nearly alike successful in their laudable endeavours of bespattering and throwing dirt in one another's faces. The particulars, it is so long ago, have now escaped my memory, and though they may be extant in the party pamphlets of that age, yet they would not be worth the trouble of the search.

I can only say, that I concluded even then, and I am sure what I have since observed, is not calculated to make me alter my opinion, that as their original agree-

agreement arose from an iniquitous compact, to share between them the spoils of the nation, entered into when they pretended to be Patriots; (for even Sir Robert Walpole had been twice in his lifetime a Patriot, ay, and a flaming one too, and as well as Mr. Wilkes, expelled the house and committed to the tower,) so their present opposition was occasioned by one courtier, (for they had commenced courtiers together) having jockeyed and unhorsed his partner, upon which, as is always the custom in such cases, he had commenced an outrageous Patriot. Hence I was not in the least surpris'd, when, after *acting* for many years in that *character*, he got what he fought for, an empty title, that he sat quietly down with it, sunk into utter oblivion, and was never more heard of in that capacity.

It is not my business here to enquire whether the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole was well or ill founded. It is certain, that minister was pusillanimous in his transactions with foreign powers, and a little seasonable vigour would have prevented the bloody, ruinous and disgraceful war wherein he left
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the nation involved. But it is equally certain, the opposition against him was carried on in a quite different manner from that set on foot by Mr. Wilkes, as indeed the characters of the principal actors were altogether different. Mr. Pulteney, excepting his pretended Patriotism was in every thing the reverse of our present impostor; independent in his fortune, prudent in the management of it, decent in private life, of great abilities, profound learning, manly eloquence, attack wit and refined humour. The committee at the King's Arms know best whether all or any of these qualities are applicable to their hero. It is however certain, that Mr. Pulteney never solicited or received beggarly subscriptions for a paltry book not yet published; and that no banker's shops were ever opened to receive donations for the satisfaction of debts he had contracted through riot, extravagance and debauchery. Neither during the whole *representation* of his Patriotism, did the most impudent beggar that ever was, reproach a whole nation for being beggars. The Scotch may be beggars in general for ought I know, but in two articles they have had greatly the ad-

advantage over their opulent neighbours, if I may speak it without high treason against the majesty of our present Patriot, who by the bye happens to be a beggar himself. It is this, though the Scotch have produced Patriots, and those as distinguished*, nay, one of them to the full as popular throughout the whole British empire, as ever Mr. Pitt himself was in the height of his glory; yet none have ever turned out beggars, or were detected as impostors; whereas we have been very unlucky in our English Patriots, who have generally proved to be the latter, whilst the most renowned of them all is at present both the one and the other, and is so admirable an actor in each, that it is hard to say in which he most excels. He seems indeed to bear some distant resemblance to the Scotch Highlanders, who are all, it is said, either gentlemen, beggars, or thieves, and sometimes all three together.

But to return, Mr. Pultney was not more different in his character from

† John late duke of Argyle, and John, late Earl of Stair, who died as they lived, loved and lamented by all.

the present impostor than in his conduct. Indeed, it must be confessed that he acted his part, and carried on the farce in so masterly a manner all along, I remember it well, that till the *denouement* or *catastrophe*, till he spoke the epilogue and bade farewell to the audience, by taking a seat in the house of Lords, it was impossible for an uninterested spectator not to be carried away by the deception, and to mistake mere representation for real life. Whereas our present Patriot lies so open in his imposture, and has afforded so many palpable hits, that the man who has been deceived by him merits no excuse, he must either have resolved on being deceived, or be as simple and credulous, as *that egregious dupe, that fond believing fool* the AUDITOR, who mistook and actually printed *Viator's* letter on the *Florida Peat* as a serious business*.

I shall here give a sketch of the most remarkable features in Mr. Pulteney's conduct. In all the papers and pamphlets he wrote or patronized, decency was observed to the sovereign, and no abuse

* See North Briton, No. 35, and 31.

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thrown out on his family. Both he and Lord Bolingbroke employed all the charms of their eloquence to bury in oblivion, the very names of Whig and Tory; they shewed to the conviction of all men, that no such parties really existed; and it was the ministry who for factious purposes used every art to keep those distinctions alive. I shall only observe farther, that perhaps in all the Craftsman there is not one reflection which can justly be called national.

Let us now consider Mr. Wilkes in the same view, and we shall find that though the motives for his Patriotism were alike, yet, that his conduct, in the *representation* of it, took its tincture entirely from his character, principles, and circumstances. He had an aspiration after the government of Canada, in order, as he tells us, "to shew the French the advantages of the mild government of laws over lawless power and despotism, and to reconcile his Majesty's new subjects to the English government."† Glorious purposes indeed! But how well he is calculated to be a reconciler, let the animosities and jea-

† See his answer to some queries in the news-papers.

lousies he has wantonly raised between his Majesty's old subjects in Great Britain itself bear a testimony. Those who think so favourably of him, that he would have scrupled at doing the same in Canada, had it suited any factious purpose in view, must know little of human nature, as it is depraved in this man. While his thoughts were employed on this government, with what view may be easily conjectured, he wanted to see Lord Bute, then Secretary of State; as he was Colonel of the Militia. He waited full two hours, but the Secretary not coming as expected, the Colonel departed in disgust, and, as is usual in such cases, a flaming Patriot. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* Now if Lord Bute declined seeing this man, because he was said to be a profligate, it was a weakness unworthy of a statesman; for if none but men of strict virtue, were to be employed in the service of government, the Court Kalendar would be reduced in a moment to the size of a child's primmer; if he refused having any connection with him, because he suspected him to be as factious and turbulent as he was profligate, I admire his pene-

penetration as a man, though perhaps not his conduct as a politician.

Be this, however, as it may, our Militia Colonel, having now entered the stage as a Patriot, one of the first steps he took, was to revive all the odious and ridiculous distinctions of party, abolished by our Sovereign, and which had lain dormant for many years, and that with greater malignity, scurrility and abuse, than ever had been practised during the most violent party feuds in the reign of Queen Anne.

In the next place, not to speak here of the personal attack he made on his Sovereign, for which he has been long under prosecution; he spread through the nation by the vilest innuendoes, not to be misunderstood by the lowest of the vulgar, indeed, of a nature exactly fitted to the pitch of their understandings, the most malicious, false and scandalous aspersions on the honour and character of a person, who, next to his Royal Consort, ought, and is known to be nearest and dearest to our Sovereign; aspersions of such a nature that they never can or ought to be forgiven by a gentleman and a man of honour; for as such, I hope, we all wish our monarch to demean

demean himself, and I speak of him here in no other capacity; aspersions so much the more provoking, that they cannot be with decency hinted at, far less come under the cognizance of the laws, especially in this country, governed as I hope it always will be, by the strict and literal interpretation of those laws. But atrocious as this may be, suitable to the rancour and malignity of the heart that framed it, it could be attended with no consequences, and was at worst like the scandal and tittle-tattle of idle dram-drinking gossips at a tea-table or christening, and as such must be despised and forgotten.

He did not, however, stop here. To satiate a pitiful revenge, and gratify the faction and turbulence of his disposition, he set other principles abroad and revived obsolete prejudices, which in different times and circumstances might have been attended with consequences infinitely worse, stabbings, murders, assassinations, and even civil wars, which I doubt not he would have rejoiced to behold. Ignorant and uninformed, or which is more agreeable to his character of an impostor, pretending ignorance or shutting his eyes against all information
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of the true history and constitution of his country, he well knew that the vulgar in England, both great and small, which in this as well as other nations, constitutes a majority of ninety-nine in a hundred, entertained a particular animosity against their kings of the abdicated family, thinking them to have been destroyers of their rights and encroachers on their liberties; whereas the the real matter of fact is, that to these Princes, I do not say to their love of liberty or their people, but to their weakness or lenity, the English are indebted not only for the abolition of the old and oppressive prerogatives of the crown, the Star Chamber, High Commission Court, Martial Law, &c. &c. but for the revival and re-establishment of their antient privileges, most of them then obsolete, and for the acquisition of many new ones, particularly the *Habeas Corpus*; so that, if the race of Stuarts, do not possess a positive merit towards the nation, they may at least be allowed a negative one; and if they are not entitled to our applause and adoration, they ought to be kept sacred from obloquy and abuse. This was a truth never unknown to men well versed in
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our laws and antiquities; but it has lately been made so notorious and evident by a most excellent history now in every body's hands, that the impostor must either be more ignorant, or more prejudiced than even I am willing to believe him, if he is not in his heart convinced of it. At the same time he was sensible that the English mob, above most other mobs in the world, hate and despise all foreigners as enemies, and that they are strongly disposed to look upon their fellow-subjects the natives of Ireland and Scotland in the same light.

With such principles on his side, and such dispositions to work upon in the other, it happened a little unluckily that Lord Bute, then minister and supposed to be a favourite, was both a Scotchman by descent, and a Stewart by name, pronounced, though not spelt in the same manner, as that of the late Royal Family. Now, though this minister's ancestors by the father's side were never suspected of disaffection, though he was descended by the mother's from a family the most distinguished of any in Britain for their attachment to revolution principles and the house of Hanover, manifested as well by their services as sufferings, a
father

*EC75.A100.764e

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